

# **MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH**

## **Collection of his Sayings**

**By**

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M.A. Jinnah said in his presidential address at the 13<sup>th</sup> session of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi in April 1943 that he has learned politics at the feet of the great man, Dadabhoi Naoroji who had inspired him with some hope of a fair and equitable adjustment between Hindus and Muslims. Dadabhoi Naoroji had been elected to the House of Commons in July 1902.

Jinnah had been an articulate member of the Congress party from the very beginning. He was of the view that the foundation upon which the Indian National Congress was based was that we are all equal and there should be no reservation for any class or community. He evidently believed that the Congress party represented the Muslims as well as the Hindus and was the only political voice of the country.

Almost immediately after his arrival in London, Jinnah came under the influence of Dadabhoi Naoroji who had been elected to the House of Commons in July 1902 as a liberal. Jinnah in his presidential address at the thirteenth session of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi in April 1943 said that he has learned politics 'at the feet of that Great Dadabhoi that inspired us with some hope of a fair and equitable adjustment' between Hindus and Muslims.

He was also a signatory to a Memorandum, which the Bombay Presidency Association forwarded to Lord Minto opposing separate electorate. His view expressed on 31 December 1913 was that separate electorates would pull Hindus and Muslims further apart and make his dream of Hindu-Muslim unity more difficult to achieve.

In January 1910 he was elected by the Bombay Muslims to represent them in the Imperial Legislative Council. Soon afterwards he wrote to a friend that 'the problem of all problems that the statesmen in India' had to solve was to 'combine' Hindus and Muslims 'in the common good' because 'we have to live together in every district, town and hamlet, where our daily life is interwoven with each other in every square mile of our common country'. He warned that

this problem had to be solved "before any true advance or real progress can be achieved'.

He was invited to attend the Muslim League Council meeting at Bankipur on 31 December 1912 though he was at that time a member of the Congress Party. The meeting under the presidency of the Agha Khan adopted a resolution laying down the aims of the Muslim League. One of the aims adopted at the meeting, which echoed Jinnah's own dreams, was "To promote friendship and union between the Muslims and other communities of India'. He was also invited to attend the sixth session of the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow as a guest. A resolution passed in the session said 'The All-India Muslim League places on record its firm belief that the future development and progress of the people of India depend exclusively on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities'.

On 10 October 1913, during a holiday in England. Jinnah enrolled himself as a member of the Muslim League at the express desire of his friends Muhammad Ali and Wazir Hasan. After returning to India he first attended the twenty-eighth session of the Congress at Karachi (26-28 December) and at Agra attended the seventh session of the Muslim League (31 December 1913).

The Congress made a positive response to the League's repeated overtures for communal co-operation. At the end of 1913 the stage was set for Jinnah to play the role of ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. While presiding over the Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmadabad on 21 October 1916 he summed up, 'the real question was not of a few more seats going to the Muslims or the Hindus; it was a transfer of power from bureaucracy to democracy. If Hindus and Muslims stood united and firm 'the voice of three hundred millions of people vibrating throughout the length and breadth of the country, will produce a force which no power on earth can resist'.

Jinnah's efforts were rewarded at the end of December 1916 when Congress and the Muslim League both held their respective regular sessions at Lucknow and unanimously agreed to accept a scheme of reform which came to be known as the Lucknow Pact. It spelled out the steps which needed to be taken toward the goal of

self-government in India and also sought to safeguard the interests of the Muslims.

The Muslim League was reduced to the status of an adjunct of the Congress and did not meet as an independent body till 1924.

Taking advantage of the disarray in Muslim ranks, Congress moved to revoke the constitutional concessions it had allowed to the Muslims under the Lucknow Pact. The Nehru Report (1928) negated all that was agreed to. Jinnah proposed amendments to the Report but they were all rejected. He was so dejected that he termed it 'the parting of the ways'.

This policy of the predominantly Hindu Congress Party of ignoring political realities resulted in the Hindus and the Muslims continuing as separate political entities and in the end each receiving a separate homeland of their own from the departing British government.

Jinnah followed secular politics till the experience of Hindu rule in the Congress provinces (1937-38) finally drove him to the conclusion that if the Muslims wished to practice their faith and culture freely they would have to achieve an independent homeland of their own.

During his speech in the Central Legislative assembly on 7 February 1935 he said that 'religion should not be allowed to come into politics... Religion is merely a matter between man and God.

## SAYINGS OF JINNAH

### FOREIGN POLICY

After having emerged from an eclipse which lasted over a century and a half, the people of Pakistan desire nothing which is not their own, nothing more than the goodwill and friendship of all the free nations of the world. We in Pakistan are determined that having won our long-last freedom we will work to the utmost limit of our capacity not only to build up a strong and happy State of our own but to contribute in the fullest possible measure to international peace and prosperity. (26 February 1948)

As a newborn State, Pakistan desires nothing so ardently as the goodwill of the world. Its people are determined to work with heart and soul in the task of consolidating their new liberty and while so engaged in the great task they will be deeply conscious of the help and co-operation extended to them by the other States of the world, particularly at this moment. (8 May 1948)

The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve as an as an eye opener to us. It is only by putting up a united front that we can make our voice felt in the counsels of the world. (27 August 1948)

## TIES WITH UNITED STATES

I am hopeful that good relations and friendship already existing between the peoples of America and Pakistan will be further strengthened and the bonds of friendship between our two countries will be more firmly riveted. Your Excellency, I assure you that my Government and I will do all that lies in our power to give you every assistance in the fulfillment of what is our common desire and objective. (26 February 1948)

## TIES WITH TURKEY

Turkey has been in our thoughts constantly and has drawn our admiration for the valour of your people and the way in which your statesmen and leaders have struggled and fought almost single-handed in the midst of Europe for your freedom and sovereignty which have been happily maintained. (4 March 1948)

## FRANCE

The cry of liberty, fraternity and equality which was raised during your great revolution and officially adopted by your great Republic had its repercussions throughout the world, as is known to every student of History. These ideals and these principles are still keeping up the hopes of many downtrodden nations.

I assure your Excellency that we in Pakistan will give you our support and co-operation which you may require in promoting

relationship of goodwill and friendship between our two countries and I trust that in the result, Pakistan and France will unitedly play their part in re-establishing peace and prosperity in the present distracted world. (9 April 1948)

## PAKISTAN-INDIA RELATIONS

In answer to the question whether there is any hope of India and Pakistan coming to a peaceful settlement on their own with regard to their differences and disputes on very vital and important matters, said: 'Yes, provided the Indian Government will shed its superiority complex and will deal with Pakistan on an equal footing and fully appreciate the realities. (11 March 1948)

To a question whether in international affairs Pakistan and India will work jointly and also join hands for the defence of their borders – both land and sea - and co-operate against any outside aggression, the Governor-General of Pakistan replied: 'Personally I have no doubt in my mind that our own paramount interests demand that the Dominion of Pakistan and the Dominion of India should co-ordinate for the purpose of playing their part in international affairs and the developments that may take place and also it is of vital interest to Pakistan and India as independent sovereign states to collaborate in a friendly way jointly to defend their frontiers both on land and sea against any aggression. But this depends entirely on whether Pakistan and India can resolve their own differences. If we can put our house in order internally, then we may be able to play a very great part externally in all international affairs. (11 March 1948)

## MINORITIES

Let me take this opportunity of repeating what I have already said: we shall treat the minorities in Pakistan fairly and justly. Their lives and property in Pakistan are far more secure and protected than in India and we shall maintain peace, law and order and protect and safeguard fully every citizen of Pakistan without distinction of caste, creed or community. (21 March 1948)

## THE YOUTH AND STUDENTS

My young friends.... , students who are present here, let me give you a word of warning: you will be making the greatest mistake if you allow yourself to be exploited by one political party or other. Remember, there has been a revolutionary change. It is our own Government. We are a free, independent and sovereign State. Let us behave and regulate our affairs as free men; we are not suppressed and oppressed under the regime of a foreign domination; we have broken those chains, we have thrown off those shackles. My young friends, I look forward to you as the real makers of Pakistan, do not be exploited and do not be misled. Create amongst yourselves complete unity and solidarity. Set an example of what youth can do. Your main occupation should be – in fairness to yourself, in fairness to your parents, in fairness to the State – to devote your attention to your studies. If you fritter away your energies now, you will always regret. After you leave the portals of your universities and colleges then you can play your part freely and help yourself and the State. (21 March 1948)

It is necessary that you and your other fellow students fully understand the implications of the revolutionary change that took place on the birth of Pakistan. We have broken the shackles of slavery, we are now a free people. Our State is our own State. Our Government is our own government of the people, responsible to the people of the State. Freedom, however, does not mean license. It does not mean that you can now behave just as you please and do what you like irrespective of the interests of other people of the State. A great responsibility rests on you and, on the contrary, now more than ever, it is necessary for us to work as a united and disciplined nation. What is now required of us all is constructive spirit and not the militant spirit of the days when we were fighting for our freedom. It is far more difficult to construct than to have a militant spirit for the attainment of freedom. It is easier to go to jail or fight for freedom than to run a government. (24 March 1948)

Those of you who have still to continue your studies for sometime, do not allow yourself to be exploited by any political party or self-seeking politician.... Only thus you can assist it (your State) in solving the great social and economic problems that confront it and

enable it to reach its destined goal among the most progressive and strongest nations of the world. My young friends, I would, therefore, like to tell you a few points about which you should be vigilant and beware... guard against and weed out selfish people who only wish to exploit you so that they may swim...learn to judge who are really true and really honest and unselfish servants of the State who wish to serve the people with heart and soul and support them.... All this demands complete solidarity, unity and discipline. I assure you, 'Divided you fall, United you stand'. (24 March 1948)

Now that you have achieved your goal that is, a Government of your own and a country which belongs to you and in which you can live as free men, your responsibilities and your approach to the political, social and economic problems must also change. The duties required of you now are: develop a sound sense of discipline, character, initiative and a solid academic background. You must devote yourself wholeheartedly to your studies, for that is your first obligation to yourself, your parents and to the State. You must learn to obey for only then you can learn to command. In your criticism of the Government you must learn to be constructive. Government welcomes constructive criticism. You can make a big contribution towards bringing about harmony and unity where for personal and other selfish considerations some people may adopt courses which are likely to lead to disruption and disunity. Remember that your Government is like your garden. Your garden flourishes by the way you look after it and the efforts that you put towards its improvement. Similarly, your Government can only flourish by your patriotic, honest and constructive efforts to improve it. (12 April 1948)

Finally, I would earnestly advise you to think and act with sobriety and in all humility as selfless and true soldiers of the people, and with absolute loyalty to Pakistan.

The success of our achievements will depend upon our unity, discipline and faith not only in ourselves but in God Who determines the destinies of peoples and nations.

You are not now merely to confine yourself to becoming Government servants which was the avenue to which most of you aspired. You must now realize that fresh fields, new channels and avenues are now being thrown open to you where you have

unlimited opportunities, namely, you must now direct your attention to science, commercial banking, insurance, industry and technical education. (12 April 1948)

## BUREAUCRACY; PUBLIC SERVANTS

I want you to realize fully the deep implications of the revolutionary change that has taken place. Whatever community, caste or creed you belong to, you are now the servants of Pakistan. Servants can only do their duties and discharge their responsibilities by serving. Those days have gone when the country was ruled by the bureaucracy. It is people's Government, responsible to the people more or less on democratic lines and parliamentary practices. Under these fundamental changes I would put before you two or three points for consideration:

- (1) You have to do your duty as servants; you are not concerned with this political party or that political party; this is not your business. It is a business of politicians to fight out their case under the present constitution or the future constitution that may be ultimately framed...Whichever gets the majority will form the Government and your duty is to serve that Government for the time being as servants not as politicians....The government in power for the time being must also realize and understand their responsibilities that you are not be used for this party or that.
- (2) The second point is that of your conduct and dealing with the people in various departments, in which you may be; wipe off that past reputation; you are not rulers....Make the people feel that you are their servants and friends, maintain the highest standard of honour, integrity, justice and fairplay. If you do that, people will have confidence and trust in you and will look upon you as friends and well-wishers.... Now that freezing atmosphere must go; that impression of arrogance must go; that impression that you are rulers must go and you must do your best with all courtesy and kindness and try to understand people. Maybe sometimes you will find that it is trying and provoking when a man goes on talking and repeating a thing over and over again, but have patience and show patience and make them feel that justice has been done to them.

Next thing I would like to impress upon you is this: I keep on getting representations and memorials containing grievances of the people of all sorts of things. May be there is no justification, may be there is no foundation for that, may be that that they are under the wrong impression and may be they are misled but in all such cases I have followed in practice for many years which is this: Whether I agree with anyone or not, whether I think that he has any imaginary grievance

Whether I think that he does not understand but I always show patience. If you will also do the same in your dealings with an individual or any association or any organization you will ultimately stand to gain. Let no people leave you with this bearing that you hate, that you are offensive, that you have insulted or that you are rude to them. Not one per cent who comes in contact with you should be left in that state of mind. You may not be able to agree with him but do not let him go with this feeling that you are offensive or that you are discourteous. If you follow that rule believe me you will win the respect of the people. (25 March 1948)

It is true that with the removal foreign domination, the people are now the final arbiters of their destiny. They have perfect liberty to have by constitutional means any government that they may choose. This cannot, however, mean that any group may now attempt by any unlawful methods to impose its will on the popularly elected Government of the day. (28 March 1948)

Yours is a great responsibility.... In the great task of building up this State you have a magnificent opportunity. You must continue to face the future, handle your jobs with the same courage, confidence and determination as you have so far displayed. Above all, do not allow yourself to be made the pawns of mischievous propagandists and self-seeking agitators who are out to exploit both you and the difficulties with which a new State is inevitably faced..... You owe it to the great State to which you belong, to the people whom you serve and, indeed, to yourself not to be daunted by any difficulties, but to press on and go forward and maintain sustained efforts with single-minded devotion. Pakistan has a great future ahead of it. It is now for us to take the fullest

advantage of what nature has so abundantly provided us with and build up a glorious and mighty State. (28 March 1948)

You should not be influenced by any political pressure, by any political party or individual politician. If you want raise the prestige and greatness of Pakistan, you must not fall a victim to any pressure, but do your duty as servants to the people and the State, fearlessly and honestly. Service is the backbone of the State. Governments are formed, Governments are defeated, Prime ministers come and go. Ministers come and go, but you stay on, and, therefore there is a very great responsibility placed on your shoulders. You should have no hand in supporting this political party or that political party, this political leader or that political leader – this is not your business. Whichever government is formed according to the Constitution, and whoever happens to be the Prime Minister or Minister coming into power in the ordinary constitutional course, your duty is not only to serve that government loyally and faithfully, but at the same time, fearlessly maintaining your high reputation your prestige, your honour and the integrity of your service. If you will start with that determination, you will make a great contribution to the building up of Pakistan, of our conception and our dreams – a glorious State and one of the greatest nations in the world.

While impressing this upon you on your own side. I wish also to take the opportunity of impressing upon our leaders and politicians in the same way that if they try to interfere with you and bring political pressure to bear upon you, which leads to nothing but corruption, bribery and nepotism – which is a horrible disease and for which not only your Province but others too are suffering – if they try and interfere with you in this way, I say, they are doing nothing but disservice to Pakistan.

I hope that each one of you will understand his own sphere of duty and responsibility and act with others harmoniously and in complete co-operation, keeping in mind that each has to do his duty within the sphere to which he belongs. If you on your side start with that determination and enthusiasm – and I hope the other side will also realize what a horrible evil they are raising up and how it demoralizes the services to try and influence this department or that department, this officer or that officer – and if you stick to your determination you will have done a great service to your nation.

You should try to create an atmosphere and work in such a spirit that everybody gets a fair deal, and justice is done to everybody. And not merely should justice be done but people should feel that justice has been done to them. (14 April 1948)

## PROVINCIALISM

Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, thwarted and frustrated by their failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupt the State by creating a split amongst the Muslims of Pakistan. These attempts have taken the shape principally of encouraging provincialism. (21 March 1948)  
but the present emergency requires that every Musalman should come under the banner of the Muslim League, which is the true custodian of Pakistan, and build it up and make it a great State before we think of parties amongst ourselves which may be formed later on sound and healthy lines. (21 March 1948)

While, however, one must love one's own town and work for its welfare – indeed because of it – one must love better one's country and work more devotedly for it. Local attachments have their value but what is the value and strength of a 'part' except within the 'whole'. Yet this is a truth people so easily seem to forget and begin to prize local, sectional or provincial interests above and regardless of the national interests. It naturally pains me to find the curse of provincialism holding sway over any section of Pakistanis. Pakistan must be rid of this evil. It is a relic of the old administration when you clung to provincial autonomy and local liberty of action to avoid control – which meant – British control. But with your own Central Government and its power, it is a folly to continue to think in the same terms, especially after a time when your State is so new and faces such tremendous problems internal and external. At this juncture subordination of the larger interest of the State to the provincial or local or personal interest would be suicidal. (15 June 1948)

## BUILDING UP PAKISTAN

Finally, let me appeal to you – keep together, put up with inconveniences, sufferings and sacrifices, for the collective good of our people. No amount of trouble, no amount of hard work or sacrifice is too much or to be shirked if you individually and collectively make a contribution for the collective good of your nation and your State. It is in that way that you will build up Pakistan as the fifth largest State in the world not only in population as it is but also in strength, so that it will command the respect of all the other nations of the world. (21 March 1948)

You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Musalman when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasizes equality and brotherhood of man. Similarly you are voicing my thoughts in asking and aspiring for equal opportunities for all/ These targets of progress are not controversial in Pakistan, for we demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs according to our traditions and genius. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man – these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in this sub-continent. We aspired for these great ideals because of centuries of dual domination by the foreign rulers and by a caste-ridden social system. This domination continued for over two hundred years until we realized that it would ultimately mean complete extension of Musalmans individually as human beings and collectively as a nation. After all, the story of Pakistan, its struggle and its achievement is the story of great human ideals struggling to survive in the face of odds and difficulties. The biggest Muslim State came into being on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947. It was a great day in our history. But on this great day, it was not merely a Government which came into existence, it meant the birth of a great State and a great nation – one supplementing the other and both existing for each other.... I reiterate most emphatically that Pakistan was made possible because of the danger of complete annihilation of human soul in a society based on caste. Now that the soul is free to exist and to aspire it must assert itself galvanizing not only the State but also the nation. (26 March 1948)

It is true that with the removal foreign domination, the people are now the final arbiters of their destiny. They have perfect liberty to have by constitutional means any government that they may choose. This cannot, however, mean that any group may now attempt by any unlawful methods to impose its will on the popularly elected Government of the day. (28 March 1948)

I am sure that the people of Pakistan will not mind making sacrifices in order to make our State in the near future a really strong and stable State so that we can handle more effectively and with ease our programme, specially for the uplift of the masses. I have no doubt in my mind about the bright future that awaits Pakistan when its vast resources of men and material are fully mobilized. The road that we may have to travel may be somewhat uphill at present but with courage and determination we mean to achieve our objective which is to build up and construct a strong and prosperous Pakistan. (1 April 1948)

It is no longer a foreign government as it was, but it is now a Muslim government and Muslim rule that holds the reins of this great independent sovereign State of Pakistan. It is now the duty of every Musalman, yours and mine, and every Pakistani to see that the State, which we have established, is strengthened in every department of life and made prosperous and happy for all, especially the poor and the needy. (17 April 1948)

We have still a long way to build up Pakistan, but I have no doubt that by the grace of God, by adopting right methods and the right course we shall march along to make it one of the greatest States of the world. (20 April 1948)

If each individual begins scrutinizing himself and forces – for initially it will require a certain amount of force – upon himself the principle of honesty to others as well as to himself, regardless of fear or favour, I see a very bright future ahead. If the individuals both officials and non-officials play their part thus and work in this spirit, the Government, the Nation and the State will immediately bear their stamp, and Pakistan will emerge triumphantly as one of the greatest nations of the world.... Let us subject our actions to perpetual scrutiny and test them with the touchstone not of personal or sectional interest but of the good of the State. (15 June 1948)

Remember that the establishment of Pakistan is a fact of which there is no parallel in the history of the world. It is one of the largest Muslim States in the world, and it is destined to play its magnificent part year after year, as we go on, provided we serve Pakistan honestly, earnestly and selflessly. I have full faith in my people that they will rise to every occasion worthy of our past Islamic past Islamic history, glory and traditions. (14 August 1948)

Nature has given you everything: you have got unlimited resources. The foundations of your State have been laid, and it is now for you to build, and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you Godspeed! (14 August 1948)

Let me, therefore, appeal to you – in whatever language you may put, when the essence of my advice is boiled down, it comes to this – that every Musalman should serve Pakistan honestly, sincerely and selflessly. (27 August 1948)

## NWFP POLICY

Pakistan has no desire to unduly interfere with your internal freedom. On the contrary, Pakistan wants to help you and make you, as far as it lies in our power, self-reliant and self-sufficient and help in your educational, social and economic uplift, and not be left as you are dependent on annual doles, as has been the practice hitherto which meant that at the end of the year you were no better of than beggars asking for allowances, if possible a little more. We want to put you on your legs as self-respecting citizens who have the opportunities of fully developing and producing what is best in you and your land.... Pakistan will not hesitate to go out of its way to give every possible help- financial and otherwise – to build up the economic and social life of our tribal brethren across the border. (17 April 1948)

## EDUCATIONAL POLICY

I entirely agree that instead of turning our mere clerks and government servants you college is now offering suitable subjects for students, which would enable them to take their places in commerce,

trade, industry, banking and insurance business. It should be the aim of our colleges to produce first class experts in agriculture, zoology, engineering, medicine and other specialized subjects. Only thus shall we be able to come to grips with the problems that are now facing us in the task of raising the standard of living, especially of the common man. (18 April 1948)

## GOOD GOVERNANCE

I want you to keep your heads up as citizens of a free and independent sovereign State. Praise your government when it deserves. Criticize your government fearlessly when it deserves, but do not go on all the time attacking, indulging in destructive criticism, taking delight in running down the ministry or the officials.

## ATHLETES

... the success of our people in all walks of life depends upon the cultivation of *Sound Minds*, the natural concomitant to *Sound Bodies*. To the athletes and youth of the nation I bid welcome. My message to you is: build up physical strength not for aggression, not for militarism, but for becoming fighting fit, all your life and all the time in every walk of life of your nation wherever you be and always to be a force for peace, international amity and goodwill. (22 April 1948)

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

I need hardly dilate on the important role that the State Bank will have to play in regulating the economic life of our country. The monetary policy of the the bank will have a direct bearing on our trade and commerce, both inside Pakistan as well as with the outside world and it is only to be desired that your policy should encourage maximum production and a free flow of trade.... The abnormal rise in the cost of living has hit the poorer sections of society including those with fixed incomes very hard indeed and is responsible to a great extent for the prevailing unrest in the country. The policy of the

Pakistan government is to stabilize prices at a level that would be fair to the producer, as well as to the consumer. (1 July 1948)

The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from disaster which is now facing the world. It has failed to do justice between man and man and to eradicate friction from the international field. On the contrary, it was largely responsible for the two World Wars in the last half century. The Western World, in spite of its advantage of mechanization and industrial efficiency is today in a worse mess than ever before in history. The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind. (1 July 1948)

## COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Just as Pakistan is agriculturally the most advanced country in the Continent of Asia as mentioned by you, I am confident that if it makes the fullest and the best use of its considerable agricultural wealth in the building up of her industries, it will, with the tradition of craftsmanship for which her people are so well-known and with their ability to adjust themselves to new techniques, soon make its mark in the industrial field.

Commerce, gentlemen, is more international than culture and it behaves you to behave in such a way that the power and prestige of Pakistan gain added strength from every act of yours. I have no doubt that the commerce of Pakistan would be an effective instrument in the establishment and maintenance of high standards of business integrity and practice..... I would like Pakistan to become a synonym and hallmark for standard and quality in the market places of the world. (27 April 1948)

## SERVICE BEFORE SELF

Whatever I have done, I did as a servant of Islam, and only tried to perform my duty and made every possible contribution within my power to help our Nation. It has been my constant endeavour to try to bring about unity among Musalmans, and I hope that in the great task of reconstruction and building up Great and Glorious Pakistan, that is ahead of us, you realize that solidarity is no more essential than it ever as for achieving Pakistan, which by the grace of God we have already done.

(17 April 1948)

## BALUCHISTAN

You have got a deep-rooted ancient century-old system which is in vogue here and your administration has been stagnant for nearly a century. This is a problem that I am faced with as the Executive Head of Baluchistan. Now you cannot change these things overnight but we can make wonderful progress and advancement if we all work together sincerely, honestly and selflessly and as servants of Baluchistan. (13 June 1948)

I think there is great future for Baluchistan's development of its mineral wealth, agricultural resources, water supply, communications etc. (13 June 1948)

## DEFENCE FORCES

The Defence Forces are the most vital of all Pakistan services and correspondingly a very heavy responsibility and burden lies on your shoulders.

I have no doubt in my mind, from what I have seen and from what I have gathered, that the spirit of the Army is splendid, the morale is very high, and what is very encouraging is that every officer and soldier, no matter what the race or community to which he belongs, is working as a true Pakistani.

If you all continue in that spirit and work as comrades, as true Pakistanis, selflessly, Pakistan has nothing to fear.

One thing more. I am persuaded to say this because during my talks with one or two very high ranking officers I discovered that they

did not know the implications of the Oath taken by the troops of Pakistan. Of course, an oath is only a matter of forms; what is important is the true spirit and the heart.

But it is an important form and I would like to take the opportunity of refreshing your memory by reading the prescribed oath to you:

"I solemnly affirm, in the presence of Almighty God, that I owe allegiance to the Constitution and the Dominion of Pakistan (mark the words Constitution and the Government of the Dominion of Pakistan) and that I will as in duty bound honestly and faithfully serve in the Dominion of Pakistan Forces and go within the terms of my enrolment wherever I may be ordered by air, land or sea and that I will observe and obey all commands of any officer set over me...'

As I have said just now, the spirit is what really matters. I should like to study the Constitution which is in force in Pakistan at present and understand its true constitutional and legal implications when you say that you will be faithful to the Constitution of the Dominion. (14 June 1948)

## REFUGEES

The very fact that that a large number of the refugees have already been rehabilitated in their new home with the prospect of a new and a happier life ahead of them, is an achievement of no mean order. But for the spirit of brotherhood shown by the people of Pakistan and the courage with which the people as well as the Government faced the almost overwhelming difficulties created by a catastrophe, unparalleled in the history of the world, the entire structure of the State might well have crumbled down. (14 August 1948)

## SAYINGS OF JINNAH – I

### PAKISTAN HAS COME TO STAY

During the last five months of its existence, Pakistan has had to face terrible trials and tribulations and to suffer tragedies which are almost without parallel in the history of mankind. We have, however,

withstood these calamities with courage and fortitude. Through our perseverance, labour and sacrifice we will make Pakistan a great and powerful nation. Pakistan has come to stay and no power on earth can destroy it.. (February 1948)

## BUILDING UP PAKISTAN

There remains the far greater task of constructing and building up Pakistan which will require every ounce of our energy, but by the grace of God we shall build up this new greatest Muslim sovereign State in the world with complete unity, discipline and faith. (7 July 1947)

Finally let me tell you, fellow citizens. Pakistan is a land of great potential resources. But to build it up into a country worthy of the of the Muslim nation, we shall require every ounce of energy that we possess and I am confident that it will come from all whole-heartedly. (15 August 1947)

I fervently pray that Almighty God make us all worthy of our past and hoary history and give us strength to take Pakistan truly a great nation amongst all nations of the world. No doubt we have achieved Pakistan But that is only yet the beginning of an end. Great responsibilities have come to us, and equally great should be our determination and endeavour to discharge them, and the fulfillment thereof will demand of us efforts and sacrifices in the cause no less for construction and building of our nation than what was required for the achievement of the cherished goal of Pakistan. The time for real solid work has now arrived, and I have no doubt in my mind that the Muslim genius will put its shoulder to the wheel and conquer all obstacles in our way on the road which may appear uphill. (18 August 1947)

The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving for the last ten years is, by the grace of God, an established fact today, but the creation of a State of our own was the means to an end and not the end in itself. The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic justice could find freeplay. (11 October 1947)

Unfortunately , the birth of Pakistan was attended by a holocaust unprecedented in history. Hundreds of thousands of defenseless people have been mercilessly butchered and millions have been displaced from their hearths and homes. People who till yesterday were leading a decent and prosperous life are today paupers with no means of livelihood. (11 October 1947)

The disorders in the Punjab have brought in their wake the colossal problem of the rehabilitation of millions of displaced persons. This is going to tax our energies and resources to the utmost extent. It has made the difficulties inherent in the building of a new State, I referred to earlier, manifold. Are we going to allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the immensity of the task that is confronting us and let our newborn State founder under the cruel and dastardly blows struck by our enemies? (11 October 1947)

This is a challenge to our very existence and if we are to survive as a nation and are to translate our dreams about Pakistan into reality we shall have to grapple with the problem facing us with redoubled zeal and energy. (11 October 1947)

God has given us a grand opportunity to show our worth as architects of a new State; let it not be said that that we did not prove equal to the task. (11 October 1947)

We have been the victims of a deeply laid and well-planned conspiracy executed with utter disregard of the elementary principles of honesty, chivalry and honour. We thank Providence for giving us courage and faith to fight these forces of evil. If we take our inspiration and guidance from the Holy Quran, the final victory, I once again say, will be ours. (30 October 1947)

Do not for a moment imagine that our enemies can ever succeed in their designs. But at the same time do not make light of the situation facing you. Search your hearts and see if you have done your part in the construction of this new and mighty State. (30 October 1947)

Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There is many an example in history of young nations building themselves by the sheer determination and force of character....You have only to develop the spirit of the 'Mujahids'. You are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live up

to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory. (30 October 1947)

All I require of you now is that everyone of us to whom this message reaches must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam and as one of the greatest nations whose ideal is peace within and peace without. (30 October 1947)

Keep up your morale. Do not be afraid of death. Our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause. (30 October 1947)

Do your duty and have faith in God. There is no power on earth that can undo Pakistan. It has come to stay. Our deeds are proving to the world that we are in the right and I can assure you that the sympathies of the world, particularly of the Islamic world, are with you. We in turn are grateful to every nation who has stretched out to us its hands of help and friendliness. (30 October 1947)

Let us now plan to build and reconstruct and regenerate our great nation and our sovereign State of Pakistan which, you know, is not only the biggest Muslim State in the World but the fifth biggest sovereign State in the world. Now is the time, chance and opportunity for every Musalman to make his or her fullest and best contribution and make the greatest sacrifice and work ceaselessly and selflessly in the service of our nation and make Pakistan one of the greatest nations of the world. It is in your hands. We have undoubtedly talents; Pakistan is blessed with enormous resources and potentialities; Providence has endowed us with all the wealth of nature and now it lies with man to make the best of it. (30 October 1947)

Create enthusiasm and spirit and go forward with your task, with courage and hope, and we shall do it. Are we downhearted? Certainly not. The history of Islam is replete with instances of valour, grit and determination. So march on notwithstanding obstructions, obstacles and interference; and I feel confident that a united nation of 70 million people with a grim determination and with a great civilization and history need fear nothing. It is now up to you to work,

work and work; and we are bound to succeed. And never forget our motto: 'Unity, Discipline and faith. ((30 October 1947)

In my public speeches and in every sphere of the Government in which I have influence I have emphasized and enjoined that Pakistan must not sit back and brood over its injuries. Our people must work – and work hard – to repair and enrich their country. We are determined to go ahead. And God willing, we shall succeed. (19 February 1947)

In this machine-age when the misdirected genius of man forges new engines of destruction everyday, you have to keep abreast of the times and keep your knowledge and equipment up to date – not because we have any evil designs against any of our neighbours but because our own security demands that we should not be caught unaware. (21 February 1947)

## SERVICE BEFORE SELF

Self-advancement, greed and lust for power sway the conduct of individuals as that of nations. If we are to build a safer, cleaner and happier world let us start with the individual – catch him young and inculcate in him the scout's motto of service before self and purity in thought, word and deed. If you young people learn to befriend all, to help other people at all times, subordinate personal interest to the welfare of others, eschew violence of thought, word and action, I am sanguine that the attainment of universal brotherhood is possible and within our reach. (22 December 1947)

We must sink individual and petty jealousies and make up our minds to serve the people with honesty and faithfully. (28 December 1947)

## MINORITIES

The question that has been agitating my mind is the treatment of minorities. I have repeatedly made it clear in my utterances, both private and public, that we would treat the minorities fairly and that nothing is farther from our thoughts than to drive them away. I, however, regret to say that the minorities here did not give us a chance to prove our bonafides and give us their whole-hearted co-

operation a citizens of Pakistan when the crisis suddenly overtook us. Before we could assume the reins of office, non-Muslims started pulling out of Pakistan, which, subsequent events have proved, was part of a well-organized plan to cripple Pakistan. (11 October 1947)

The division of India was agreed upon with a solemn and sacred undertaking that minorities would be protected by the two Dominion Governments and that the minorities had nothing to fear so long as they remained loyal to the State. If that is still the policy of the Government of India – I am sure it is – they should put a stop to the process of victimization of Muslims which, if persisted, would mean ruin for both the States. (11 October 1947)

The minorities in both the Dominions must be made to feel that their life, property and honour are absolutely safe and secure and they will get without question, a fair deal from their respective Governments. (25 October 1947)

I assure you that Pakistan means to stand by its oft-repeated promises of according equal treatment to all nationals irrespective of their caste and creed. Pakistan which symbolizes the aspirations of a nation that found itself in a minority in the Indian sub-continent, cannot be unmindful of the minorities in its own borders. (3 February 1947)

We have many non-Muslims – Hindus, Christians, and Parsis – but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan. ((February 1948)

It is the duty of every Muslim as a man of honour – and, what is more, his religion enjoins it upon them that there should be no retaliation or revenge that it is our bounden duty to protect the minorities and that we mean to give them a fair deal as our citizen. (25 October 1947)

The tenets of Islam enjoin on every Musalman to give protection to his neighbours and to the minorities regardless of caste and creed. Despite the treatment that is being meted out to the Muslim minorities in India, we must make it a matter of our prestige and honour to safeguard the lives of the minority communities and to create a sense of security among them. I would like to impress upon every Musalman, who has at heart the welfare and the prosperity of Pakistan, to avoid retaliation and to exercise restraint. Because

retaliation and violation of law and order will ultimately result in weakening the very foundation of the edifice you have cherished all these years to erect. (30 October 1947)

## PROVINCIALISM

I want the Muslims to get rid of the disease of provincialism. A nation can never make progress unless it march in one formation. We are all Pakistanis and citizens of the State and we should serve, sacrifice and die for the State so that we can make it the most glorious and sovereign State in the world. (25 January 1948)

## MUSLIMS IN INDIA

Muslim India will discharge its responsibility with full credit and make its contribution towards world peace. (7 July 1947)

My advice to my Muslim brethren in India is to give unflinching loyalty to the State in which they happen to be. At the same time, they should reorganize themselves and create the right leadership which should give them the right lead in these perilous times. I further hope that the Government of India would see that their fair name is not sullied by ill-advised action on the part of those who are bent upon the eviction or extermination of Muslims of India by brutal and inhuman methods. If the ultimate solution of the minority problem is to be mass exchange of population, let it be taken up at the Government plane; it should not be left to be sorted out by blood-thirsty elements. (11 October 1947)

Minorities belonging to different faiths living in Pakistan or Hindustan do not cease to be citizens of the respective States by virtue of their belonging to a particular faith, religion or race. I have repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech to the Constituent Assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated as our citizens and will enjoy all the rights and privileges that any other community gets. Pakistan shall pursue that policy and do all it can to create a sense of security and confidence in the non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan. (25 October 1947)

The Muslim minority in India have played a magnificent part in the achievement and establishment of Pakistan. They were fully alive to the consequences that they would have to remain in Hindustan as minorities but not at the cost of their self-respect and honour. Nobody visualized that powerful section in India was bent upon the ruthless extermination of Muslims and had prepared a well-organized plan to achieve that end. This gangsterism, I hope, will be put down ruthlessly by the India Government, otherwise they will forfeit their claim to be a civilized Government. (25 October 1947)

They must hold to their posts, and Pakistan, I can assure them, will not be mere spectator of their sufferings. We are deeply concerned with their welfare and future, and we shall do everything in our power to avert the danger they are facing. I sincerely hope that with the co-operation of the Indian Dominion, we shall be able to secure a fair deal for them. (25 October 1947)

## PAKISTAN-INDIA RELATIONS

I have repeatedly said that; now that the division of India has been brought about by solemn agreement between the two Dominions, we should bury the past and resolve that despite all that has happened, we shall remain friends. There are many things which we need from each other as neighbours and we can help each other in diverse ways, morally, materially and politically and thereby raise the prestige and status of both Dominions. But before we can make any progress, it is absolutely essential that peace must be restored and law and order maintained in both the Dominions. (25 October 1947)

I want to make it quite clear that Pakistan will never surrender and never agree to any shape or form to any constitutional union between the two sovereign States with one common centre.

Pakistan has come to stay and will stay. But we are always ready to come to an understanding or enter into agreements with Hindustan as two independent, equal, sovereign States, just as we may have our alliances, friendships and agreements with any other foreign nation. (25 October 1947)

## INJUSTICE DONE TO PAKISTAN

The division of India is now finally and irrevocably effected. No doubt, we feel that the carving out of this great independent, sovereign Muslim State has suffered injustice. We have been squeezed in as much as it was possible and the latest blow we have received was the Award of the Boundary Commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensive and even perverse Award. It may be wrong, unjust and perverse and it may not be a judicial but political award, but we had agreed to abide by it and it is binding upon us. As honourable people we must abide by it. It may be our misfortune, but we must bear up this one more blow with fortitude, courage and hope. (30 October 1947)

## EDUCATION POLICY

You know that the importance of education and the right type of education cannot be overemphasized. Under foreign rule for over a century, in the very nature of things, I regret, sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people, and if we are to make any real, speedy and substantial progress we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our educational policy and programme on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture, and having regard to the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world.

There is no doubt that the future of our State will and must greatly depend upon the type of education and the way in which we bring up our children as the future servants of Pakistan. Education does not mean merely academic education, and even that appears to be of a very poor type. What we have to do is to mobilize our people and build up the character of our future generations. There is an immediate and urgent need for training our people in the scientific and technical education in order to build up our economic life, and we should see that our people undertake science, commerce, trade and particularly, well planned industries. But do not forget that we have to compete with the world which is moving very fast in this direction. Also I must emphasize that greater attention should be paid to technical and vocational education.

In short, we have to build up the character of our future generations which means highest sense of honour, integrity, selfless service to the nation, and sense of responsibility, and we have to see that they are fully qualified or equipped to play their part in the various branches of economic life in a manner which will do honour to Pakistan. (27 November 1947)

## YOUTH AND STUDENTS

Pakistan is proud of her youth, particularly the students who have always been in the forefront in the hour of trial and need.

You are the nation –builders of tomorrow and you must fully equip yourself by discipline, education and training for the arduous task lying ahead of you. You should realize the magnitude of your responsibility and be ready to bear it. (31 October 1947)

## GOOD GOVERNANCE

So my message to you all is of hope, courage and confidence. Let us mobilize all our resources in a systematic and organized way and tackle the grave issues that confront us with grim determination and discipline worthy of a great nation. (24 October 1947)

Pakistan must be governed through the properly constituted government, and not by cliques, or fifth-columnists or a mob, and the Pakistan Government is going to take the severest possible measures against the offenders, and they shall be dealt with sternly and ruthlessly. (9 January 1948)

It is the duty of Government servants, who are responsible for enforcing the policy of Government, to see that this policy is scrupulously carried out so that we may not throw ourselves open to the charge that we do not mean what we say. It is you who can convince the man in the street of the sincerity of our intentions and I am confident that you would not fail us. (11 October 1947)

Pakistan is now a sovereign State, absolute and unfettered and the Government of Pakistan is in the hands of the people. Until we finally frame our Constitution which, of course can only be done by the Constituent Assembly; our present provisional constitution based on the fundamental principles of democracy not bureaucracy or

autocracy or dictatorship, must be worked. You officers should realize that these are the principles that should be borne in mind.... If you want to make Pakistan a great country in the comity of nations, you must forget, as far as possible, your pleasures and put in as much time and as much work as you can in the job which is entrusted to you.

Work honestly and sincerely and be faithful and loyal to the Pakistan Government. I can assure you that there is nothing greater in this world than your own conscience and, when you appear before God, you can say that you performed your duty with the highest sense of integrity, honesty and with loyalty and faithfulness. (14 February 1948)

## ISLAMIC CONSTITUTION

'Islam and its idealism has taught us democracy. Islam has taught us equality, justice and fairplay to everybody. What reason is there for anyone to fear democracy, equality, freedom on the highest standard of integrity and on the basis of fairplay and justice for every body'. Quaid-e-Azam said: 'Let us make it (the future Constitution of Pakistan). We shall make it and we will show it to the world. (23 January 1948)

The Constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly I do not know what the shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught us equality of men, justice and fairplay to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State- to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. (February 1948)

## ISLAM

Islam is not only a set of rituals, traditions and spiritual doctrines. Islam is also a code for every Muslim which regulates his

life and his conduct in even politics and economics and the like. It is based on the highest principles of honour, integrity, fairplay and justice for all, one God and the equality of one God is one of the fundamental principles of Islam. (25 January 1948)

It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that 'our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations. (14 February 1948)

The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in right, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake: Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds, and we welcome in closest association with us all those who, of whatever creed are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan. (19 February 1948)

## THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD (PBUH)

Today we have met here in a small body to pay tributes to the great man for not only he has reverence of millions but also commands the respect of all the great men of the world. What tribute can I, a humble man, pay to this great man.

The Prophet (PBUH) was a great teacher. He was a great lawgiver. He was a great statesman and he was a great sovereign who ruled. No doubt, there are many people who do not quite appreciate when we talk of Islam.

The Governor-General of Pakistan observed that the life of the Prophet (PBUH) was simple according to those times. He was successful in everything that he put his hand to: from as a businessman to as a ruler. He said that the Prophet (PBUH) was the greatest man that the world had ever seen. 'Thirteen hundred years ago he laid the foundations of democracy'. (25 January 1948)

## PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT

There is nothing that we desire more than to live in peace and let others live in peace and develop our country according to our own lights without outside interference and improve the lot of the common man. This is no doubt going to be an uphill task but if we are determined to work earnestly and sincerely and are willing and ready to make sacrifices for the collective good of our nation, we shall soon achieve the aims and the end we have in view. (21 February 1948)

## INDUSTRIALIZATION

If Pakistan is to play its role in the world to which its size, manpower and resources entitle it, it must develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture and give its economy an industrial bias. By industrializing our State, we shall decrease our dependence on the outside world for necessities of life, we will give more employment to our people and will also increase the resources of the State.

Nature has blessed us with a good many raw materials of industry and it is up to us to utilize them to the best of the State and the people. (26 September 1947)

## FOREIGN POLICY

Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fairplay in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and the suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter. (February 1948)

... after having emerged from an eclipse which lasted over a century and a half, the people of Pakistan desire nothing which is not their own, nothing more than the goodwill and friendship of all the free nations of the world. We in Pakistan are determined that having

won our long-last freedom we will work to the utmost limit of our capacity not only to build up a strong and happy State of our own but to contribute in the fullest possible measure to international peace and prosperity. (26 February 1948)

## DEFENCE AGAIST AGGRESSION

However strong the United Nations Organization might be, the primary responsibility for the defence of our country will rest with us and Pakistan must be prepared for all eventualities and dangers. The weak and the defenseless in this imperfect world invite aggression from others. The best way in which we can serve the cause of peace is by removing the temptation from the path of those who think that we are weak, and therefore, they can bully or attack us. That temptation can only be removed if we make ourselves so strong that nobody dare entertain any aggressive design against us. (23 January 1948)

Everyone of you has an important role to play in strengthening the defence of the country and your watchwords should be faith, discipline and self-sacrifice. You will have to make up for the smallness of your size by your courage and selfless devotion to duty for it is not life that matters but the courage, fortitude and determination you bring to it. (23 January 1948)

## LAW AND ORDER

Remember that the scrupulous maintenance and enforcement of law and order are the prerequisites of all progress. (30 October 1948)

## POLITICAL PARTIES

Asked whether the Muslim League of Pakistan would eventually transform itself into a national organization open to members of all religious communities, the Quaid-e-Azam said: 'The time has not yet come for a national organization of that kind. Public opinion among the Muslims of Pakistan is not yet ready for it. We must not be

dazzled by democratic slogans that have no foundation in reality. (19 December 1947)

Honest change is welcome, but the present emergency requires that every Musalman should come under the banner of the Muslim League, which is the true custodian of Pakistan, and build it up and make it a great State before we think of parties amongst ourselves which may be formed later on sound and healthy lines.

(21 March 1948)

## BALUCHISTAN

Let me assure you that I have not for one moment allowed the affairs of Baluchistan to slip out of my mind. I have thought and thought, considered and pondered, over the ways and means of improving the lot of our people in this Province and of enabling them to secure for themselves the same position and the same political status within the polity of Pakistan, which are open to their brethren in other provinces as far as they could be brought about as practical propositions. (14 February)

Gentlemen! The relations of the old Government of India with Baluchistan before the Partition are well known to you. It is not for me to remind you how that Government which was a subordinate branch of the foreign administration, had kept Baluchistan divided in several parts, each with a different name and status, yet all bound together in shackles of backwardness. The administration handed over to us was on the one hand quite impervious to the desires and wishes of the people for moral and material progress, and on the other impatient of criticism and oblivious of the necessity of political reforms of any sort. Consequently, the people of the Province remained in a static position educationally, socially, economically and politically. Nay, I would go so far as to say that the people had to content themselves for a long time with a state of political and administrative stagnation. (14 February 1948)

The departure of British authority had left several gaps in the judicial and administrative machinery of Baluchistan. These were filled by making temporary legal and administrative arrangements. The relations of the Government of Pakistan with the tribes were

reaffirmed on the basis of the referendum until they could be consulted again. (14 February 1948)

I have decided to constitute a Governor-General' advisory Council, a body which would enable the people to play their full part in the administration and governance of their Province, and which will enable me as Governor-General to keep a close watch over the affairs of Baluchistan and to make the problems of the people my own special care as I am bound to do under the present provisional constitution of Pakistan....In the creation of the Council, as you will observe, special care has been taken to ensure that power and authority is derived as far as possible from the people. (4 February 1948)

From what I have stated, you will see that I am only trying to make a beginning in giving the people of Baluchistan their due share in the administration and I am affording to them the opportunity to play full part in the shaping of their future administration and advancing the welfare of the people generally. For instance, all plans for the future political, economic, social and educational development of the Province will be prepared and submitted through the Advisory Council and it will be for the Governor-General to see that these plans are implemented with consultation and advice of the Council. (4 February 1948)

The setting up of the Council will in no way affect that measure of independence which is already enjoyed by the people of the tribal areas nor can it change the present status of the leased areas. On the other hand, this new measure is intended to bring about a harmony of ideas between the government and the people in the various areas of Baluchistan and to make the government machinery efficient and responsive to the people. It will impose upon the administration of Baluchistan the responsibility of march in step with the wishes of its people. And afford the people opportunities for sharing henceforth, with their government the cares and responsibilities of the administration. (4 February 1948)

## KARACHI

Karachi is no ordinary town. Nature has given it exceptional advantages which particularly suit modern needs and conditions.

That is why starting from humble beginnings it has come to be what it is, and one could say with confidence that the day is not far hence when it will be ranked amongst the finest. (25 August 1947)

## AFGHANISTAN

The Government and the people of Pakistan entertain nothing but feelings of warmest friendship towards the Muslim Kingdom of Afghanistan which is our closest neighbour and with whom for many centuries and for many generations, the people of Pakistan have had countless religious, cultural and social ties. It is doubtless known to Your Excellency that the people of Pakistan have always admired the spirit of independence of the Afghan nation and its great strength of character.

I desire that the relationship between these two sister nations may be of the greatest and the most lasting friendship, and I hope that the two governments will soon be able to settle and adjust, in a spirit of goodwill for the benefit of both, all those matters which require our immediate attention, and I do trust that the coming negotiations, that may take place, will secure and strengthen all the more the goodwill and friendship between our two countries which already exist. (3 December 1947)

## THE ARAB CAUSE

I have no doubt that your Excellency's mission will further cement the bonds of brotherhood and affection which exist and subsist between our two peoples. Islam is to us the source of our very life and existence and it has linked our cultural and traditional past so closely with the Arab world and there need be no doubt whatsoever about our fullest sympathy for the Arab cause. (*Address in reply to the speech of Envoy Extraordinary of Transjordan – 24 December 1947*)

## COMMONWEALTH

The Pakistan Constituent Assembly will decide whether Pakistan is to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations or not. But

personally I have no doubt that Pakistan would be ready to stay in the Commonwealth as a willing member for our mutual benefit, and Great Britain should exercise the great moral responsibility she has, as the senior member of the Commonwealth.

At the moment I feel that Great Britain is treating Pakistan with indifference. I fully realize that Britain has no power to intervene in the affairs of any Dominion, but at the same time Britain and other Dominions are in a position to use moral persuasion to help settle differences between members of the Commonwealth. It appears to me that His Majesty's Government is so far shirking its responsibility in this respect. (19 December 1947)

U.N.O.

The war-weary humanity is watching with fear and hope the evolution of the United Nations Organization for its ability to successfully deal with the causes of war and threats to world peace will depend on the salvation of mankind and the future of civilization. Pakistan which has been recently admitted to the United Nations Organization will do everything in its power to strengthen the Organization and help in the achievement of the ideals which have been set up as its goal. (23 January 1948)

## SAYINGS OF JINNAH – I

### PAKISTAN HAS COME TO STAY

During the last five months of its existence, Pakistan has had to face terrible trials and tribulations and to suffer tragedies which are almost without parallel in the history of mankind. We have, however, withstood these calamities with courage and fortitude. Through our perseverance, labour and sacrifice we will make Pakistan a great and powerful nation. Pakistan has come to stay and no power on earth can destroy it.. (February 1948)

## BUILDING UP PAKISTAN

There remains the far greater task of constructing and building up Pakistan which will require every ounce of our energy, but by the grace of God we shall build up this new greatest Muslim sovereign State in the world with complete unity, discipline and faith. (7 July 1947)

Finally let me tell you, fellow citizens. Pakistan is a land of great potential resources. But to build it up into a country worthy of the of the Muslim nation, we shall require every ounce of energy that we possess and I am confident that it will come from all whole-heartedly. (15 August 1947)

I fervently pray that Almighty God make us all worthy of our past and hoary history and give us strength to take Pakistan truly a great nation amongst all nations of the world. No doubt we have achieved Pakistan But that is only yet the beginning of an end. Great responsibilities have come to us, and equally great should be our determination and endeavour to discharge them, and the fulfillment thereof will demand of us efforts and sacrifices in the cause no less for construction and building of our nation than what was required for the achievement of the cherished goal of Pakistan. The time for real solid work has now arrived, and I have no doubt in my mind that the Muslim genius will put its shoulder to the wheel and conquer all obstacles in our way on the road which may appear uphill. (18 August 1947)

The establishment of Pakistan for which we have been striving for the last ten years is, by the grace of God, an established fact today, but the creation of a State of our own was the means to an end and not the end in itself. The idea was that we should have a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic justice could find freeplay. (11 October 1947)

Unfortunately , the birth of Pakistan was attended by a holocaust unprecedented in history. Hundreds of thousands of defenseless people have been mercilessly butchered and millions have been displaced from their hearths and homes. People who till

yesterday were leading a decent and prosperous life are today paupers with no means of livelihood. (11 October 1947)

The disorders in the Punjab have brought in their wake the colossal problem of the rehabilitation of millions of displaced persons. This is going to tax our energies and resources to the utmost extent. It has made the difficulties inherent in the building of a new State, I referred to earlier, manifold. Are we going to allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the immensity of the task that is confronting us and let our newborn State founder under the cruel and dastardly blows struck by our enemies? (11 October 1947)

This is a challenge to our very existence and if we are to survive as a nation and are to translate our dreams about Pakistan into reality we shall have to grapple with the problem facing us with redoubled zeal and energy. (11 October 1947)

God has given us a grand opportunity to show our worth as architects of a new State; let it not be said that that we did not prove equal to the task. (11 October 1947)

We have been the victims of a deeply laid and well-planned conspiracy executed with utter disregard of the elementary principles of honesty, chivalry and honour. We thank Providence for giving us courage and faith to fight these forces of evil. If we take our inspiration and guidance from the Holy Quran, the final victory, I once again say, will be ours. (30 October 1947)

Do not for a moment imagine that our enemies can ever succeed in their designs. But at the same time do not make light of the situation facing you. Search your hearts and see if you have done your part in the construction of this new and mighty State. (30 October 1947)

Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There is many an example in history of young nations building themselves by the sheer determination and force of character....You have only to develop the spirit of the 'Mujahids'. You are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory. (30 October 1947)

All I require of you now is that everyone of us to whom this message reaches must vow to himself and be prepared to sacrifice his all, if necessary, in building up Pakistan as a bulwark of Islam and

as one of the greatest nations whose ideal is peace within and peace without. (30 October 1947)

Keep up your morale. Do not be afraid of death. Our religion teaches us to be always prepared for death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause. (30 October 1947)

Do your duty and have faith in God. There is no power on earth that can undo Pakistan. It has come to stay. Our deeds are proving to the world that we are in the right and I can assure you that the sympathies of the world, particularly of the Islamic world, are with you. We in turn are grateful to every nation who has stretched out to us its hands of help and friendliness. (30 October 1947)

Let us now plan to build and reconstruct and regenerate our great nation and our sovereign State of Pakistan which, you know, is not only the biggest Muslim State in the World but the fifth biggest sovereign State in the world. Now is the time, chance and opportunity for every Musalman to make his or her fullest and best contribution and make the greatest sacrifice and work ceaselessly and selflessly in the service of our nation and make Pakistan one of the greatest nations of the world. It is in your hands. We have undoubtedly talents; Pakistan is blessed with enormous resources and potentialities; Providence has endowed us with all the wealth of nature and now it lies with man to make the best of it. (30 October 1947)

Create enthusiasm and spirit and go forward with your task, with courage and hope, and we shall do it. Are we downhearted? Certainly not. The history of Islam is replete with instances of valour, grit and determination. So march on notwithstanding obstructions, obstacles and interference; and I feel confident that a united nation of 70 million people with a grim determination and with a great civilization and history need fear nothing. It is now up to you to work, work and work; and we are bound to succeed. And never forget our motto: 'Unity, Discipline and faith. ((30 October 1947)

In my public speeches and in every sphere of the Government in which I have influence I have emphasized and enjoined that Pakistan must not sit back and brood over its injuries. Our people must work – and work hard – to repair and enrich their country. We

are determined to go ahead. And God willing, we shall succeed. (19 February 1947)

In this machine-age when the misdirected genius of man forges new engines of destruction everyday, you have to keep abreast of the times and keep your knowledge and equipment up to date – not because we have any evil designs against any of our neighbours but because our own security demands that we should not be caught unaware. (21 February 1947)

## SERVICE BEFORE SELF

Self-advancement, greed and lust for power sway the conduct of individuals as that of nations. If we are to build a safer, cleaner and happier world let us start with the individual – catch him young and inculcate in him the scout's motto of service before self and purity in thought, word and deed. If you young people learn to befriend all, to help other people at all times, subordinate personal interest to the welfare of others, eschew violence of thought, word and action, I am sanguine that the attainment of universal brotherhood is possible and within our reach. (22 December 1947)

We must sink individual and petty jealousies and make up our minds to serve the people with honesty and faithfully. (28 December 1947)

## MINORITIES

The question that has been agitating my mind is the treatment of minorities. I have repeatedly made it clear in my utterances, both private and public, that we would treat the minorities fairly and that nothing is farther from our thoughts that to drive them away I, however, regret to say that the minorities here did not give us a chance to prove our bonafides and give us their whole-hearted co-operation a citizens of Pakistan when the crisis suddenly overtook us. Before we could assume the reins of office, non-Muslims started pulling out of Pakistan, which, subsequent events have proved, was part of a well-organized plan to cripple Pakistan. (11 October 1947)

The division of India was agreed upon with a solemn and sacred undertaking that minorities would be protected by the two

Dominion Governments and that the minorities had nothing to fear so long as they remained loyal to the State. If that is still the policy of the Government of India – I am sure it is – they should put a stop to the process of victimization of Muslims which, if persisted, would mean ruin for both the States. (11 October 1947)

The minorities in both the Dominions must be made to feel that their life, property and honour are absolutely safe and secure and they will get without question, a fair deal from their respective Governments. (25 October 1947)

I assure you that Pakistan means to stand by its oft-repeated promises of according equal treatment to all nationals irrespective of their caste and creed. Pakistan which symbolizes the aspirations of a nation that found itself in a minority in the Indian sub-continent, cannot be unmindful of the minorities in its own borders. (3 February 1947)

We have many non-Muslims – Hindus, Christians, and Parsis – but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizens and will play their rightful part in the affairs of Pakistan. ((February 1948)

It is the duty of every Muslim as a man of honour – and, what is more, his religion enjoins it upon them that there should be no retaliation or revenge that it is our bounden duty to protect the minorities and that we mean to give them a fair deal as our citizen. (25 October 1947)

The tenets of Islam enjoin on every Musalman to give protection to his neighbours and to the minorities regardless of caste and creed. Despite the treatment that is being meted out to the Muslim minorities in India, we must make it a matter of our prestige and honour to safeguard the lives of the minority communities and to create a sense of security among them. I would like to impress upon every Musalman, who has at heart the welfare and the prosperity of Pakistan, to avoid retaliation and to exercise restraint. Because retaliation and violation of law and order will ultimately result in weakening the very foundation of the edifice you have cherished all these years to erect. (30 October 1947)

PROVINCIALISM

I want the Muslims to get rid of the disease of provincialism. A nation can never make progress unless it march in one formation. We are all Pakistanis and citizens of the State and we should serve, sacrifice and die for the State so that we can make it the most glorious and sovereign State in the world. (25 January 1948)

## MUSLIMS IN INDIA

Muslim India will discharge its responsibility with full credit and make its contribution towards world peace. (7 July 1947)

My advice to my Muslim brethren in India is to give unflinching loyalty to the State in which they happen to be. At the same time, they should reorganize themselves and create the right leadership which should give them the right lead in these perilous times. I further hope that the Government of India would see that their fair name is not sullied by ill-advised action on the part of those who are bent upon the eviction or extermination of Muslims of India by brutal and inhuman methods. If the ultimate solution of the minority problem is to be mass exchange of population, let it be taken up at the Government plane; it should not be left to be sorted out by blood-thirsty elements. (11 October 1947)

Minorities belonging to different faiths living in Pakistan or Hindustan do not cease to be citizens of the respective States by virtue of their belonging to a particular faith, religion or race. I have repeatedly made it clear, especially in my opening speech to the Constituent Assembly, that the minorities in Pakistan would be treated as our citizens and will enjoy all the rights and privileges that any other community gets. Pakistan shall pursue that policy and do all it can to create a sense of security and confidence in the non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan. (25 October 1947)

The Muslim minority in India have played a magnificent part in the achievement and establishment of Pakistan. They were fully alive to the consequences that they would have to remain in Hindustan as minorities but not at the cost of their self-respect and honour. Nobody visualized that powerful section in India was bent upon the ruthless extermination of Muslims and had prepared a well-organized plan to achieve that end. This gangsterism, I hope, will be put down

ruthlessly by the India Government, otherwise they will forfeit their claim to be a civilized Government. (25 October 1947)

They must hold to their posts, and Pakistan, I can assure them, will not be mere spectator of their sufferings. We are deeply concerned with their welfare and future, and we shall do everything in our power to avert the danger they are facing. I sincerely hope that with the co-operation of the Indian Dominion, we shall be able to secure a fair deal for them. (25 October 1947)

## PAKISTAN-INDIA RELATIONS

I have repeatedly said that; now that the division of India has been brought about by solemn agreement between the two Dominions, we should bury the past and resolve that despite all that has happened, we shall remain friends. There are many things which we need from each other as neighbours and we can help each other in diverse ways, morally, materially and politically and thereby raise the prestige and status of both Dominions. But before we can make any progress, it is absolutely essential that peace must be restored and law and order maintained in both the Dominions. (25 October 1947)

I want to make it quite clear that Pakistan will never surrender and never agree to any shape or form to any constitutional union between the two sovereign States with one common centre.

Pakistan has come to stay and will stay. But we are always ready to come to an understanding or enter into agreements with Hindustan as two independent, equal, sovereign States, just as we may have our alliances, friendships and agreements with any other foreign nation. (25 October 1947)

## INJUSTICE DONE TO PAKISTAN

The division of India is now finally and irrevocably effected. No doubt, we feel that the carving out of this great independent, sovereign Muslim State has suffered injustice. We have been squeezed in as much as it was possible and the latest blow we have received was the Award of the Boundary Commission. It is an unjust, incomprehensive and even perverse Award. It may be wrong, unjust

and perverse and it may not be a judicial but political award, but we had agreed to abide by it and it is binding upon us. As honourable people we must abide by it. It may be our misfortune, but we must bear up this one more blow with fortitude, courage and hope. (30 October 1947)

## EDUCATION POLICY

You know that the importance of education and the right type of education cannot be overemphasized. Under foreign rule for over a century, in the very nature of things, I regret, sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people, and if we are to make any real, speedy and substantial progress we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our educational policy and programme on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture, and having regard to the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world.

There is no doubt that the future of our State will and must greatly depend upon the type of education and the way in which we bring up our children as the future servants of Pakistan. Education does not mean merely academic education, and even that appears to be of a very poor type. What we have to do is to mobilize our people and build up the character of our future generations. There is an immediate and urgent need for training our people in the scientific and technical education in order to build up our economic life, and we should see that our people undertake science, commerce, trade and particularly, well planned industries. But do not forget that we have to compete with the world which is moving very fast in this direction. Also I must emphasize that greater attention should be paid to technical and vocational education.

In short, we have to build up the character of our future generations which means highest sense of honour, integrity, selfless service to the nation, and sense of responsibility, and we have to see that they are fully qualified or equipped to play their part in the various branches of economic life in a manner which will do honour to Pakistan. (27 November 1947)

## YOUTH AND STUDENTS

Pakistan is proud of her youth, particularly the students who have always been in the forefront in the hour of trial and need.

You are the nation –builders of tomorrow and you must fully equip yourself by discipline, education and training for the arduous task lying ahead of you. You should realize the magnitude of your responsibility and be ready to bear it. (31 October 1947)

## GOOD GOVERNANCE

So my message to you all is of hope, courage and confidence. Let us mobilize all our resources in a systematic and organized way and tackle the grave issues that confront us with grim determination and discipline worthy of a great nation. (24 October 1947)

Pakistan must be governed through the properly constituted government, and not by cliques, or fifth-columnists or a mob, and the Pakistan Government is going to take the severest possible measures against the offenders, and they shall be dealt with sternly and ruthlessly. (9 January 1948)

It is the duty of Government servants, who are responsible for enforcing the policy of Government, to see that this policy is scrupulously carried out so that we may not throw ourselves open to the charge that we do not mean what we say. It is you who can convince the man in the street of the sincerity of our intentions and I am confident that you would not fail us. (11 October 1947)

Pakistan is now a sovereign State, absolute and unfettered and the Government of Pakistan is in the hands of the people. Until we finally frame our Constitution which, of course can only be done by the Constituent Assembly; our present provisional constitution based on the fundamental principles of democracy not bureaucracy or autocracy or dictatorship, must be worked. You officers should realize that these are the principles that should be borne in mind.... If you want to make Pakistan a great country in the comity of nations, you must forget, as far as possible, your pleasures and put in as much time and as much work as you can in the job which is entrusted to you.

Work honestly and sincerely and be faithful and loyal to the Pakistan Government. I can assure you that there is nothing greater

in this world than your own conscience and, when you appear before God, you can say that you performed your duty with the highest sense of integrity, honesty and with loyalty and faithfulness. (14 February 1948)

## ISLAMIC CONSTITUTION

'Islam and its idealism has taught us democracy. Islam has taught us equality, justice and fairplay to everybody. What reason is there for anyone to fear democracy, equality, freedom on the highest standard of integrity and on the basis of fairplay and justice for everybody'. Quaid-e-Azam said: 'Let us make it (the future Constitution of Pakistan). We shall make it and we will show it to the world. (23 January 1948)

The Constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly I do not know what the shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught us equality of men, justice and fairplay to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State- to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. (February 1948)

## ISLAM

Islam is not only a set of rituals, traditions and spiritual doctrines. Islam is also a code for every Muslim which regulates his life and his conduct in even politics and economics and the like. It is based on the highest principles of honour, integrity, fairplay and justice for all, one God and the equality of one God is one of the fundamental principles of Islam. (25 January 1948)

It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that

'our decisions in the affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations. (14 February 1948)

The great majority of us are Muslims. We follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). We are members of the brotherhood of Islam in which all are equal in right, dignity and self-respect. Consequently, we have a special and a very deep sense of unity. But make no mistake: Pakistan is not a theocracy or anything like it. Islam demands from us the tolerance of other creeds, and we welcome in closest association with us all those who, of whatever creed are themselves willing and ready to play their part as true and loyal citizens of Pakistan. (19 February 1948)

## THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD (PBUH)

Today we have met here in a small body to pay tributes to the great man for not only he has reverence of millions but also commands the respect of all the great men of the world. What tribute can I, a humble man, pay to this great man.

The Prophet (PBUH) was a great teacher. He was a great lawgiver. He was a great statesman and he was a great sovereign who ruled. No doubt, there are many people who do not quite appreciate when we talk of Islam.

The Governor-General of Pakistan observed that the life of the Prophet (PBUH) was simple according to those times. He was successful in everything that he put his hand to: from as a businessman to as a ruler. He said that the Prophet (PBUH) was the greatest man that the world had ever seen. 'Thirteen hundred years ago he laid the foundations of democracy'. (25 January 1948)

## PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT

There is nothing that we desire more than to live in peace and let others live in peace and develop our country according to our own lights without outside interference and improve the lot of the common man. This is no doubt going to be an uphill task but if we are determined to work earnestly and sincerely and are willing and ready to make sacrifices for the collective good of our nation, we

shall soon achieve the aims and the end we have in view. (21 February 1948)

## INDUSTRIALIZATION

If Pakistan is to play its role in the world to which to which its size, manpower and resources entitle it, it must develop industrial potential side by side with its agriculture and give its economy an industrial bias. By industrializing our State, we shall decrease our dependence on the outside world for necessities of life, we will give more employment to our people and will also increase the resources of the State.

Nature has blessed us with a good many raw materials of industry and it is up to us to utilize them to the best of the State and the people. (26 September 1947)

## FOREIGN POLICY

Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fairplay in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and the suppresses peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter. (February 1948)

... after having emerged from an eclipse which lasted over a century and a half, the people of Pakistan desire nothing which is not their own, nothing more than the goodwill and friendship of all the free nations of the world. We in Pakistan are determined that having won our long-last freedom we will work to the utmost limit of our capacity not only to build up a strong and happy State of our own but to contribute in the fullest possible measure to international peace and prosperity. (26 February 1948)

## DEFENCE AGAINST AGGRESSION

However strong the United Nations Organization might be, the primary responsibility for the defence of our country will rest with us and Pakistan must be prepared for all eventualities and dangers. The weak and the defenseless in this imperfect world invite aggression from others. The best way in which we can serve the cause of peace is by removing the temptation from the path of those who think that we are weak, and therefore, they can bully or attack us. That temptation can only be removed if we make ourselves so strong that nobody dare entertain any aggressive design against us. (23 January 1948)

Everyone of you has an important role to play in strengthening the defence of the country and your watchwords should be faith, discipline and self-sacrifice. You will have to make up for the smallness of your size by your courage and selfless devotion to duty for it is not life that matters but the courage, fortitude and determination you bring to it. (23 January 1948)

## LAW AND ORDER

Remember that the scrupulous maintenance and enforcement of law and order are the prerequisites of all progress. (30 October 1948)

## POLITICAL PARTIES

Asked whether the Muslim League of Pakistan would eventually transform itself into a national organization open to members of all religious communities, the Quaid-e-Azam said: 'The time has not yet come for a national organization of that kind. Public opinion among the Muslims of Pakistan is not yet ready for it. We must not be dazzled by democratic slogans that have no foundation in reality. (19 December 1947)

Honest change is welcome, but the present emergency requires that every Musalman should come under the banner of the Muslim League, which is the true custodian of Pakistan, and build it up and make it a great State before we think of parties amongst ourselves which may be formed later on sound and healthy lines. (21 March 1948)

## BALUCHISTAN

Let me assure you that I have not for one moment allowed the affairs of Baluchistan to slip out of my mind. I have thought and thought, considered and pondered, over the ways and means of improving the lot of our people in this Province and of enabling them to secure for themselves the same position and the same political status within the polity of Pakistan, which are open to their brethren in other provinces as far as they could be brought about as practical propositions. (14 February)

Gentlemen! The relations of the old Government of India with Baluchistan before the Partition are well known to you. It is not for me to remind you how that Government which was a subordinate branch of the foreign administration, had kept Baluchistan divided in several parts, each with a different name and status, yet all bound together in shackles of backwardness. The administration handed over to us was on the one hand quite impervious to the desires and wishes of the people for moral and material progress, and on the other impatient of criticism and oblivious of the necessity of political reforms of any sort. Consequently, the people of the Province remained in a static position educationally, socially, economically and politically. Nay, I would go so far as to say that the people had to content themselves for a long time with a state of political and administrative stagnation. (14 February 1948)

The departure of British authority had left several gaps in the judicial and administrative machinery of Baluchistan. These were filled by making temporary legal and administrative arrangements. The relations of the Government of Pakistan with the tribes were reaffirmed on the basis of the referendum until they could be consulted again. (14 February 1948)

I have decided to constitute a Governor-General's advisory Council, a body which would enable the people to play their full part in the administration and governance of their Province, and which will enable me as Governor-General to keep a close watch over the affairs of Baluchistan and to make the problems of the people my own special care as I am bound to do under the present provisional constitution of Pakistan....In the creation of the Council, as you will

observe, special care has been taken to ensure that power and authority is derived as far as possible from the people. (4 February 1948)

From what I have stated, you will see that I am only trying to make a beginning in giving the people of Baluchistan their due share in the administration and I am affording to them the opportunity to play full part in the shaping of their future administration and advancing the welfare of the people generally. For instance, all plans for the future political, economic, social and educational development of the Province will be prepared and submitted through the Advisory Council and it will be for the Governor-General to see that these plans are implemented with consultation and advice of the Council. (4 February 1948)

The setting up of the Council will in no way affect that measure of independence which is already enjoyed by the people of the tribal areas nor can it change the present status of the leased areas. On the other hand, this new measure is intended to bring about a harmony of ideas between the government and the people in the various areas of Baluchistan and to make the government machinery efficient and responsive to the people. It will impose upon the administration of Baluchistan the responsibility of march in step with the wishes of its people. And afford the people opportunities for sharing henceforth, with their government the cares and responsibilities of the administration. (4 February 1948)

## KARACHI

Karachi is no ordinary town. Nature has given it exceptional advantages which particularly suit modern needs and conditions. That is why starting from humble beginnings it has come to be what it is, and one could say with confidence that the day is not far hence when it will be ranked amongst the finest. (25 August 1947)

## AFGHANISTAN

The Government and the people of Pakistan entertain nothing but feelings of warmest friendship towards the Muslim Kingdom of Afghanistan which is our closest neighbour and with whom for many

centuries and for many generations, the people of Pakistan have had countless religious, cultural and social ties. It is doubtless known to Your Excellency that the people of Pakistan have always admired the spirit of independence of the Afghan nation and its great strength of character.

I desire that the relationship between these two sister nations may be of the greatest and the most lasting friendship, and I hope that the two governments will soon be able to settle and adjust, in a spirit of goodwill for the benefit of both, all those matters which require our immediate attention, and I do trust that the doming negotiations, that may take place, will secure and strengthen all the more the goodwill and friendship between our two countries which already exist. (3 December 1947)

#### THE ARAB CAUSE

I have no doubt that your Excellency's mission will further cement the bonds of brotherhood and affection which exist and subsist between our two peoples. Islam is to us the source of our very life and existence and it has linked our cultural and traditional past so closely with the Arab world and there need be no doubt whatsoever about our fullest sympathy for the Arab cause. (*Address in reply to the speech of Envoy Extraordinary of Transjordan – 24 December 1947*)

#### COMMONWEALTH

The Pakistan Constituent Assembly will decide whether Pakistan is to remain in the British Commonwealth of Nations or not. But personally I have no doubt that Pakistan would be ready to stay in the Commonwealth as a willing member for our mutual benefit, and Great Britain should exercise the great moral responsibility she has, as the senior member of the Commonwealth.

At the moment I feel that Great Britain is treating Pakistan with indifference. I fully realize that Britain has no power to intervene in the affairs of any Dominion, but at the same time Britain and other Dominions are in a position to use moral persuasion to help settle differences between members of the Commonwealth. It appears to

me that His Majesty's Government is so far shirking its responsibility in this respect. (19 December 1947)

U.N.O.

The war-weary humanity is watching with fear and hope the evolution of the United Nations Organization for its ability to successfully deal with the causes of war and threats to world peace will depend on the salvation of mankind and the future of civilization. Pakistan which has been recently admitted to the United Nations Organization will do everything in its power to strengthen the Organization and help in the achievement of the ideals which have been set up as its goal. (23 January 1948)